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ABSTRACT

Over the last 30 years, the demographic picture of youth in the United States has changed as a result of the "immigrant boom." The percentage of youth who are immigrants has increased, and the bulk of them have been in the United States from 1-5 years, are aged 20-24, and are male. The educational make-up of the youth population has also changed: (1) the number of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools over the last 30 years has increased; (2) the share of school leavers who are immigrants will decrease in the near future but remain a large share of the youth population; (3) natives with immigrant parents are a sizable percentage of the student population; (4) this large portion of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools translates into an increase in noncollege-bound immigrants; and (5) immigrants suffer from severe grade delay and are heavily concentrated in a few areas of the country. Labor force participation increased for all three groups of youth--native born, recent immigrant, and other immigrant. Native and other immigrant youth tend to "mature" in terms of labor market participation at the age of 23, whereas recent immigrants "mature" at age 19. The bulk of 16-19 year-old natives and immigrant youth, who have been in the United States longer than 5 years, are both in the labor force and enrolled in school, and the bulk of 16-21 year-old recent immigrants who are in the labor force are working but not in school. (Contains 10 references.) (YLB)

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A SCHOOLING AND EMPLOYMENT PROFILE OF IMMIGRANT AND NATIVE YOUTH: 1970 - 1990

Denise D. Quigley

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INTRODUCTION

The composition of youth, particularly those who are leaving school and looking for jobs has changed over the last thirty years. Immigration has sky-rocketed and immigrants are a growing percentage of youth aged 15-24: an increase from 2 percent in 1960 to 8 percent in 1990. The share of American high school students who are immigrants has also increased from 1 percent in 1960 to 11 percent in 1990. The percent of non-college bound immigrants has increased seven-fold; in 1990 it was 15 percent up from 2 percent in 1960. Moreover, leaving high school and finding a stable job for all youth, but particularly for non-college bound youth, is an uncertain process complicated by youth's inexperience in the workplace, employer's attitudes and uncertainty toward young people's qualifications, attitude, and job commitment, as well as the lack of integrated, comprehensive assistance for youth who transition from school into the workforce. Despite the current concerns over school-to-work transition and the extensive research in the area, there is a lack of knowledge concerning immigrant and native-born youth in terms of their transitions from school-to-work. This should be of particular concern since immigrants are a growing portion of those youth who attend American schools and who subsequently transition into the workforce, particularly those who are non-college bound high school leavers.

To begin understanding the changing composition of youth in terms of nativity and better decipher the composition of 1) immigrant youth who do not attend American high schools but rather begin work upon enter to the United States as well as 2) those youth who transition from American high schools to stable employment, this report will answer a few basic questions:

- How has the age and gender composition of youth, in terms of native born and immigrant youth, changed over the last thirty years?

- How have school enrollment and educational attainment differed for immigrants and natives over the last thirty years?
- How have labor force participation, employment rates and number of hours worked on the job differed for immigrants and natives over the last thirty years?

The objective of this research is to create a profile of the changes in the youth population from 1970-1990 in terms of demographic characteristics, schooling outcomes, and employment outcomes. The Public Use Samples of the Decennial Census data will be the primary data source. (Refer to Appendix A for a list of variables). The first section describes the age and gender composition of youth according to immigration status as well as the duration of residence of immigrant youth over the last thirty years. With this as background, the second section addresses the differences in static schooling outcomes and the third section analyzes static employment outcomes. Section four concludes with a summary of changes in the immigrant and native-born youth population from 1970 - 1990.

COMPOSITIONAL CHANGE OF YOUTH: THE IMMIGRANT BOOM

Immigration in the United States over the last thirty years has skyrocketed. From 1951 to 1960 the annual immigration rate (per 1,000 U. S. population) was 1.5 percent; from 1961 to 1970 it was 1.7 percent; from 1971 to 1980 it was 2.1 percent; and from 1981 to 1990 it was 3.1 percent. In 1990 alone the immigration rate was 6.1 percent (Statistical abstract of the United States, 1994). This large rise in immigration has subsequently increased the number of foreign born in the U. S. population. In 1960, 5.4 percent of the total population were immigrants; in 1970, 4.7 percent were immigrants; in 1980, 6.2 percent were immigrants and by 1990, 7.9 percent were immigrants (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1993).

Before the 1970s, the proportion of immigrant youth in United States was very small and was therefore a small share of the youth enrolled in schools and transitioning into work. This, in part, is why immigration research did not focus on how immigrant youth in particular transition from school into the work force. However, over the last

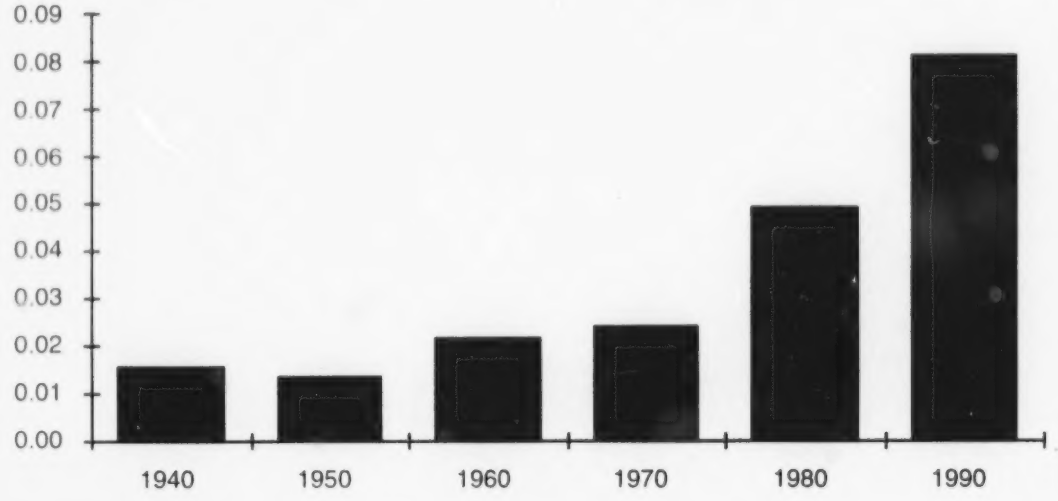
thirty years the demographic picture of youth in the United States has changed in terms of demographics (age, duration of residence, and gender of immigrants), schooling patterns, and employment outcomes.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Age Composition of Immigrants and Native Youth

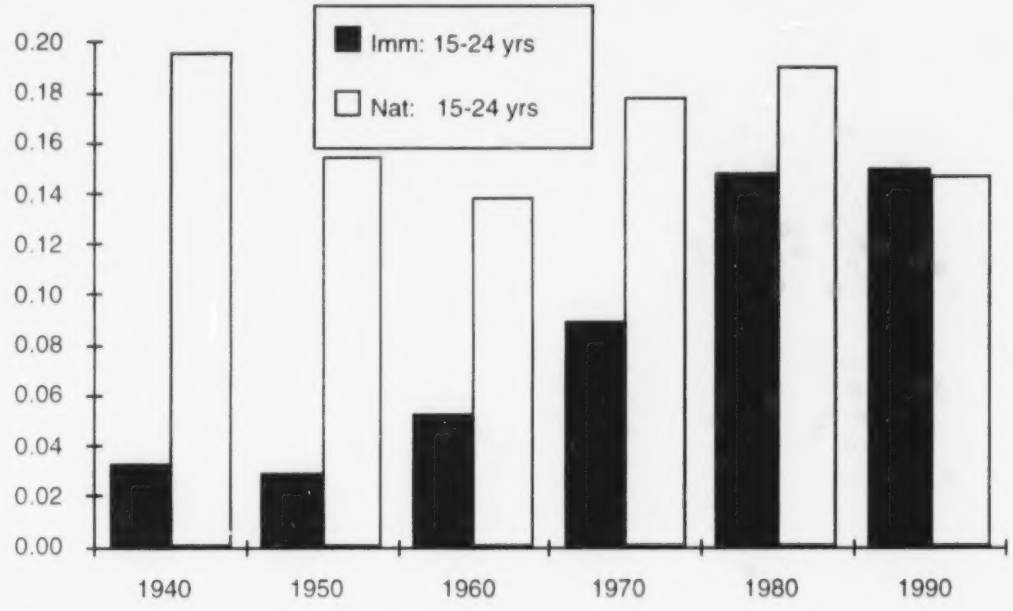
The youth population consists of an increasing share of immigrants (Figure 1) because of 1) the increasing percentage of immigrants who are aged 15-24 years of age as well as 2) the decrease in the native youth population as baby boomers grow older and have low fertility rates (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Proportion of 15-24 year olds who are Immigrants



Note: 1960 data is for 14-19 year olds **Source**: Bureau of the Census. 1940-1990

Figure 2: Proportion of 15-24 year old Immigrants in Immigrant Population & Proportion of 15-24 year old Natives in Native Population



Note: 1960 data is for 14-19 year olds **Source**: Bureau of the Census. 1940-1990

Duration of Residence

The duration of residence of immigrant youth has declined over the last thirty years. For example in 1970, 45-50 percent of 15-22 year old immigrants had been living in the United States most of their lives (11-22 years) and ca. 35 percent of 15-22 year old immigrants were recent immigrants. But in 1990, much fewer, ca. 30 percent of 16-20 year old immigrants and 20 percent of 21-30 year old immigrants had been in the United States their whole lives (15-30 years), while the largest percent of immigrants were recent immigrants: 40 percent of immigrants aged 19-24 years of age. Thus, fewer immigrants between 15-30 years old have spent their whole lives in the United States and more have spent closer to half of their lives in the United States.

Age of Immigrants by Duration of Residence

Recent waves of immigrants are younger. Table 1 highlights the changes across age and duration of residence for native and immigrant youth. In 1970 recent immigrants were concentrated in the 25-30 age group (40.7 percent of immigrants), while in 1980 and 1990 recent immigrants were concentrated in the 20-24 year age group (45.7 percent and 42.2 percent, respectively). Thus, recent waves of immigrants consist of younger immigrants.

Table 1: Changes in Age Composition of Immigrants and Natives 1970-1990

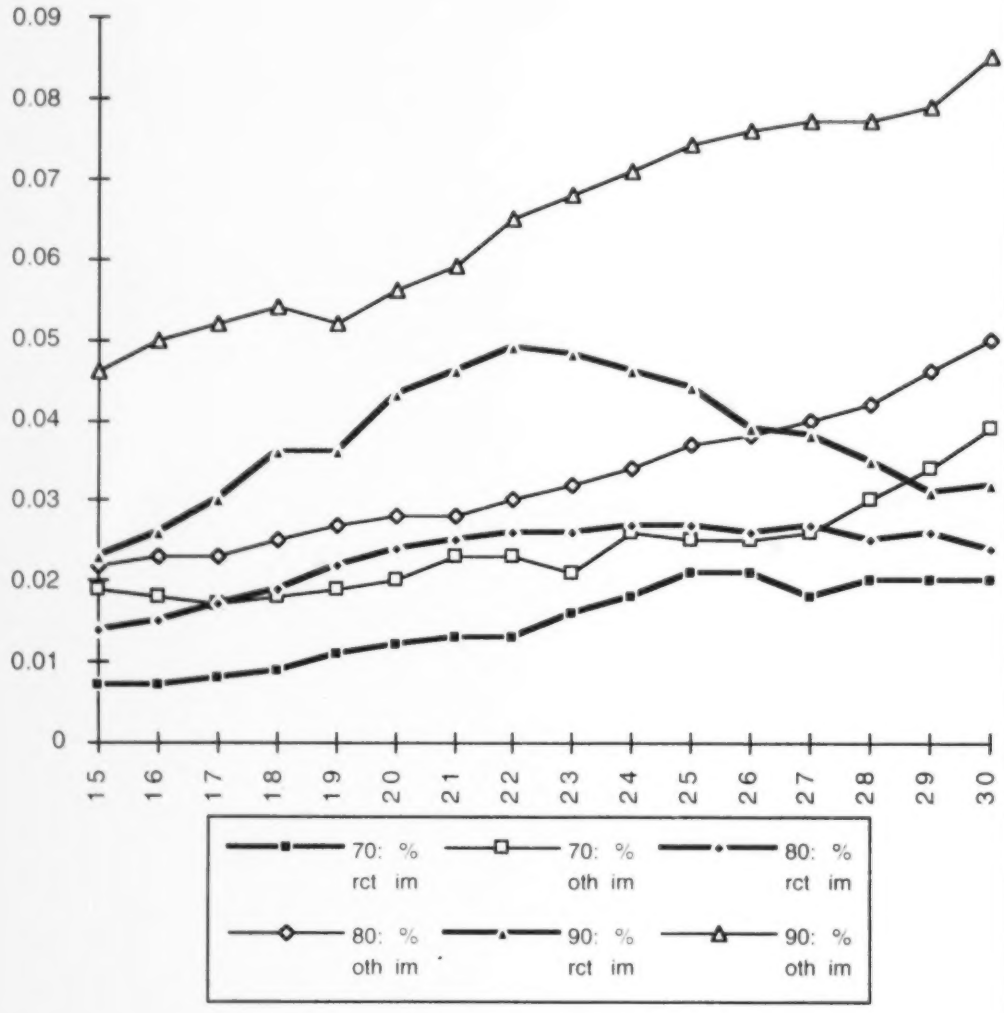
	Immigrants	Recent Immigrants (Percent of Imm Age Pop)	Natives (Percent of Age Pop)
	15-19 year olds		
1970	4993	0.310	0.974
1980	43929	0.419	0.952
1990	72253	0.372	0.919
	20-24 year olds		
1970	5924	0.388	0.963
1980	59187	0.457	0.944
1990	96398	0.422	0.891
	25-30 year olds		
1970	7821	0.407	0.950
1980	78709	0.383	0.932
1990	41120	0.317	0.886

Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census

Immigration growth across age groups has been different for recent immigrants and those who have been in the United States longer than five years. The percentage of immigrant youth who have been in the United States longer than five years increased evenly across ages 16-30 from 1970 through 1990 as well as increased steadily from 1970 to 1980, with a marked increase in 1990 (Figure 3). On the other hand, the percent of immigrant youth who have been here one to five years also increased evenly across age groups and steadily (albeit at a slower pace) in 1970 and 1980. But in 1990 the increase in the recent immigrant population was concentrated in the 20-24 year old age

group. Thus, between 1985 and 1990 the increase in immigration was concentrated in the 20-24 year old age group. Youth in 1990, relative to 1970 and 1980, are more often immigrant youth who have been in the United States 1-5 years and are 20 -24 years of age.

Figure 3: 1970-1990 Recent and Other Immigrants as Percent of Age Group

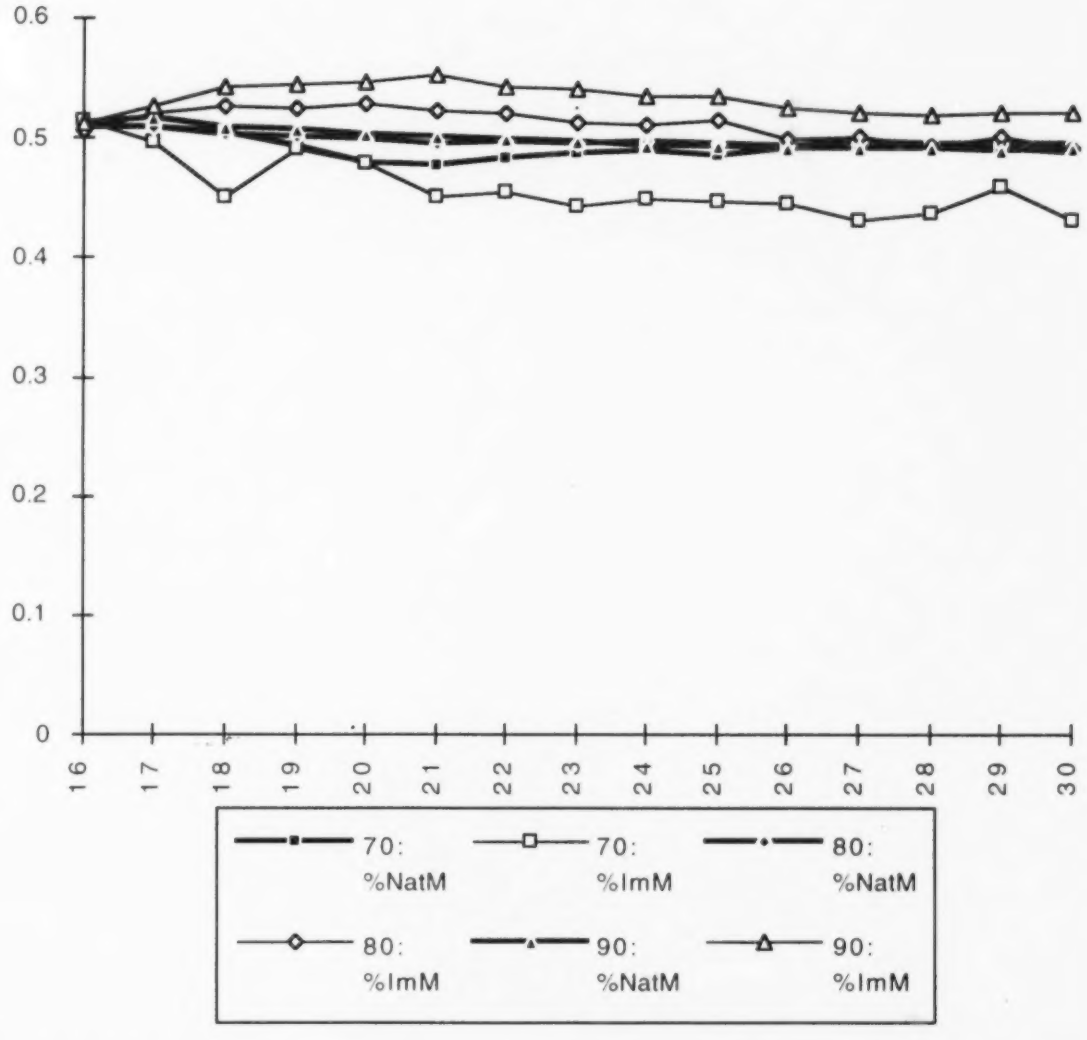


Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census

Gender Composition

Besides the age composition and duration of residence for immigrants changing, the gender composition of immigrants has shifted. The percentage of immigrants who are male has grown steadily from 45 percent in 1970 to 55 percent in 1990, while the gender composition of the native population has not changed from 1970-1990: 51 percent male to 50 percent female (Figure 4).

Figure 4: 1970-1990 Percent of Natives and Immigrant Males by Age



Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census

From 1970 to 1990, immigrants who have lived in the United States longer than 5 years were also more often male: in 1970 45 percent were male and in 1990 53 percent were male as well as recent immigrants are more often male. In 1970 ca. 40 percent of recent immigrants aged 17-24 were male. But by 1990 57 percent of recent immigrants of this age were male.

In sum, the change in composition from 1970 to 1990 for the bulk of immigrant youth are that they have been in the United States one to five years, are primarily aged 20-24, and are male rather than residents of the United States most of their live, aged 25-30, and female.

SCHOOLING OUTCOMES

Policymakers, educators, and employers are interested in the population of immigrant youth who attend American schools and then find work as well as the population of immigrants who after immigrating to the United States immediately enter the workforce. To analyze these dimensions of interest, the next section describes the patterns of school enrollment and educational attainment for immigrant and native youth.

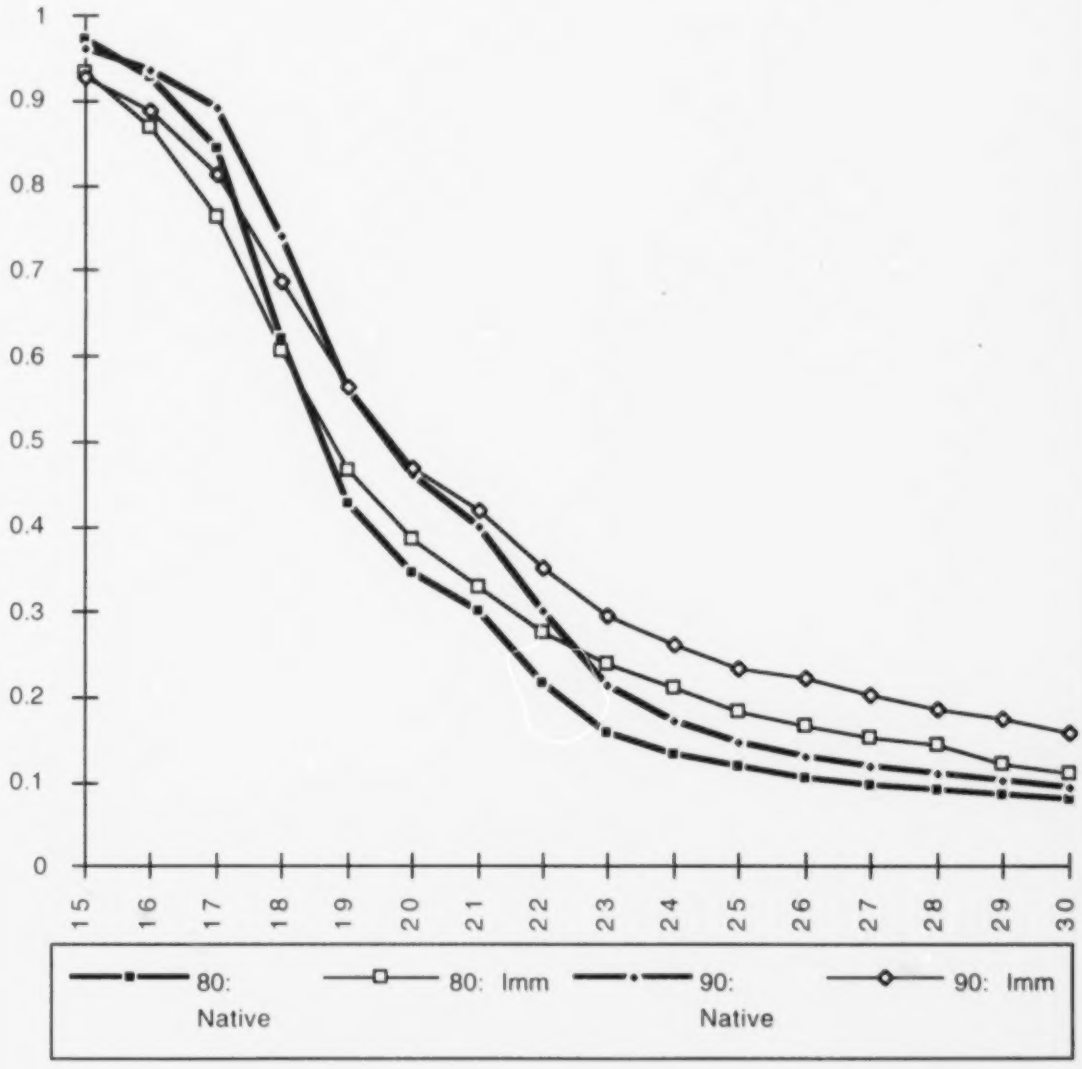
School Enrollment

From 1980 to 1990 the percent of immigrants and natives in school increased, indicating higher overall attendance rates (Figure 5). These increases are not only attributed to higher percentages of college attendance but also attendance at schools such as language schools, vocational education schools, or community colleges.

The increase in attendance was not, however, even across age group or immigrant status. First, immigrants have a lower percent of being enrolled between 15-17 years of age, implying that immigrants do not attend school at these ages or are high school drop outs. Second, in 1980 and 1990 immigrants aged 19- 23 had a higher a rate of being enrolled in school. This probably reflects two competing trends: 1) immigrants stay in

school longer because they tend to lag behind their modal grade as a result of English difficulties and assimilation as well as 2) the slightly higher percentage of immigrants who attend college. Third, older immigrants, aged of 25 until 30 are in school twice as often as natives[1].

Figure 5: Percent of Immigrants and Natives Enrolled in School by Age

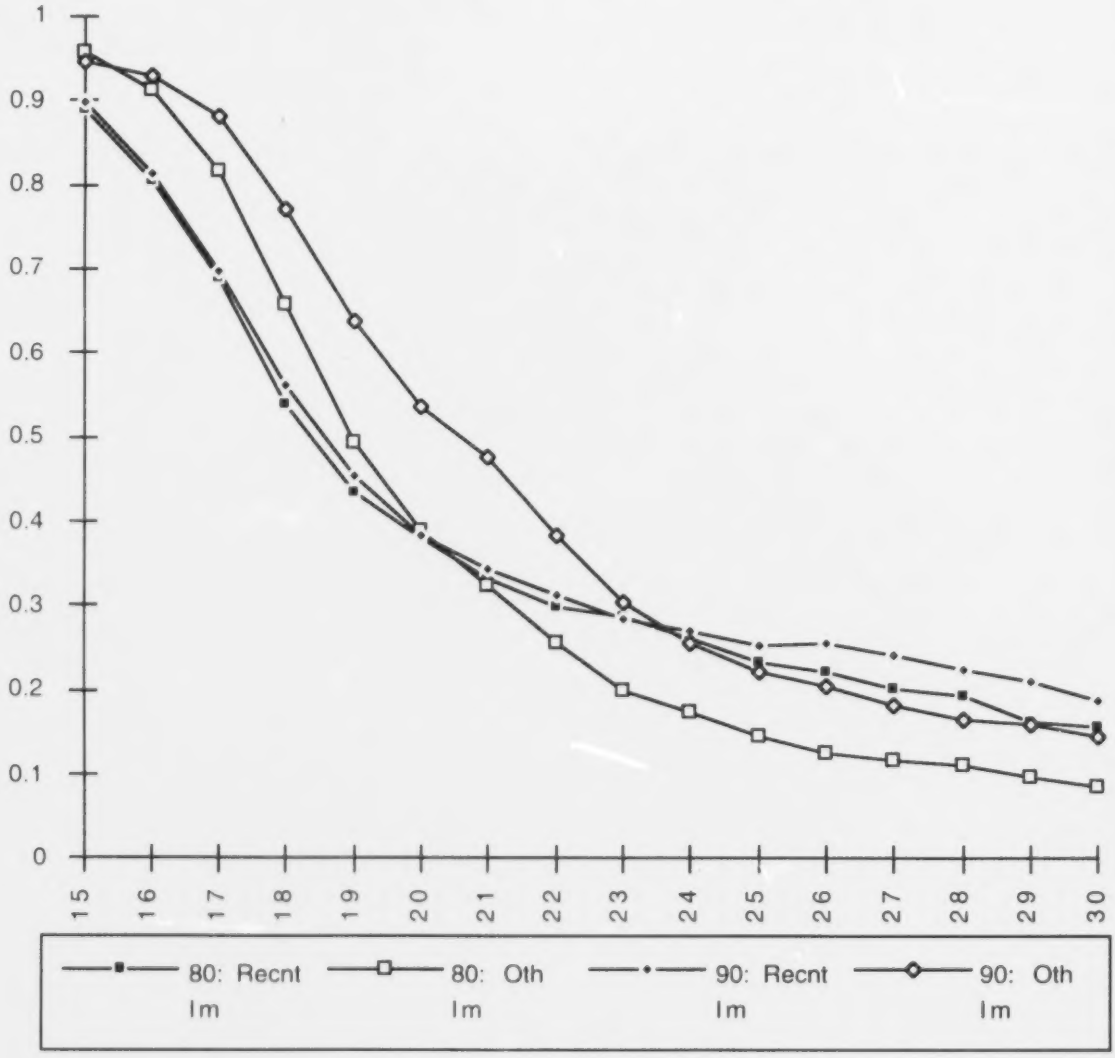


Source: 1970, 1980, 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census data

[1] 10% of natives of this age group were in school in 1980 and 1990, whereas 20% of immigrants in the same age group were in school in 1980 and 1990.

Recent immigrants are a fraction of the increased percentage of immigrants in school (Figure 6). In particular, recent immigrants have a lower percentage of being enrolled in the American school system before age 20, but have a higher enrollment rate after the age of 23.

Figure 1: 1980-1990 Percent Recent and Other Immigrants Enrolled in School by Age



Source: 1970, 1980, 1990 5 % State file of the PUMS Census data.

In particular, the number of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools over the last thirty years has increased (Table 2). In 1960, for every one hundred natives enrolled in high school, there was only one and a half immigrants enrolled. But by 1990, there were eleven and a half immigrants for every one hundred natives.

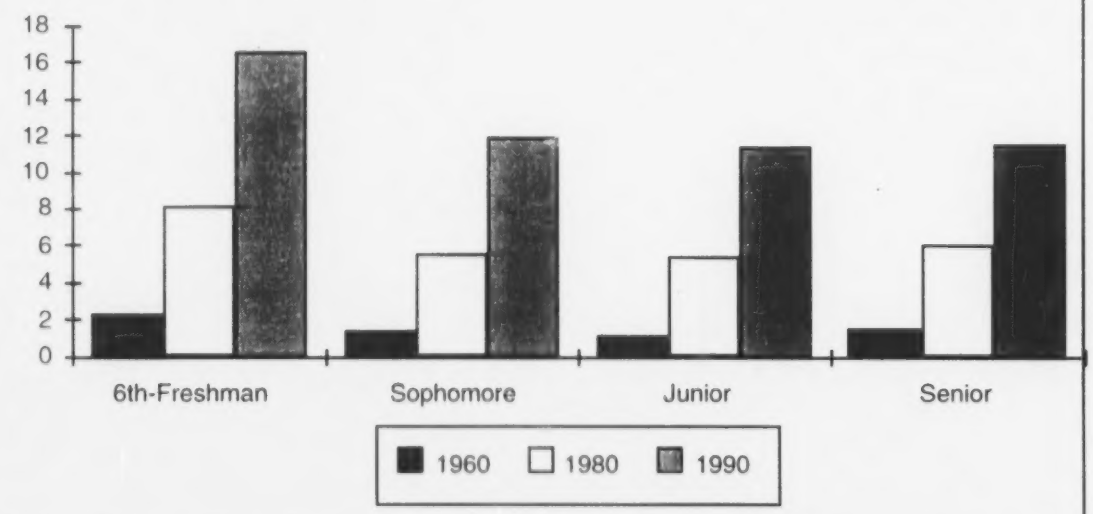
Table 2: Percent of High School Students who are Immigrants

1960	1.4%
1980	5.6%
1990	11.6%

Source: 1960 1 % file, 1980 and 1990 5 % State file of PUMS Census data.

Looking even more closely at the percent of immigrant students in every grade from 6th through Senior year in high school indicates that the percent of high school students who are immigrants will increase in the future (Figure 7). In 1990, 11.5 percent of seniors, 11.4 percent of juniors, 11.9 percent of sophomores, and 16.5 percent of 6th graders through freshman were immigrants. Therefore, the share of school leavers who are immigrants is not going to decrease in the near future but will remain a large share of the youth population.

Figure 7: Percent of Students Enrolled in School who are Immigrants by Grade



Source: 1960 1 % file, 1970, 1980, and 1990 5 % State file of the PUMS Census data.

Educational Attainment

This large portion of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools, caused by the immigrant boom, translates into an increase in non-college bound immigrants: both high school drop outs and high school graduates. In 1960, 2.1 percent of non-college bound students were immigrants; in 1980, 8.4 percent were immigrants; and in 1990, 16.7 percent were non-college bound immigrants. Particularly worrisome is the large increase in the share of immigrants within the high school drop out population. In 1960, 2.36 percent were high school drop outs, but by 1990, 20.07 percent were drop outs -- one-fifth of all high school drop outs were immigrants.

Non-college bound immigrants, high school drop outs and high school graduate school leavers are also the largest growing educational group relative to natives across all the levels of educational attainment. In 1960, there were 2.1 immigrant non-college bound students for every 100 natives of the same educational group, while in 1990, there were 16.7 immigrants for every 100 natives, a change of 14.6 additional non college immigrants per every 100 natives of the same educational background. Table 3 shows the percent of youth aged 15-30 who are not in school and are immigrants by completed educational attainment,[2] indicating that high school drop outs are the fastest growing group of immigrants followed by high school graduates with no post secondary education.

Table 3: Percent of Students who are Immigrants by Education Level

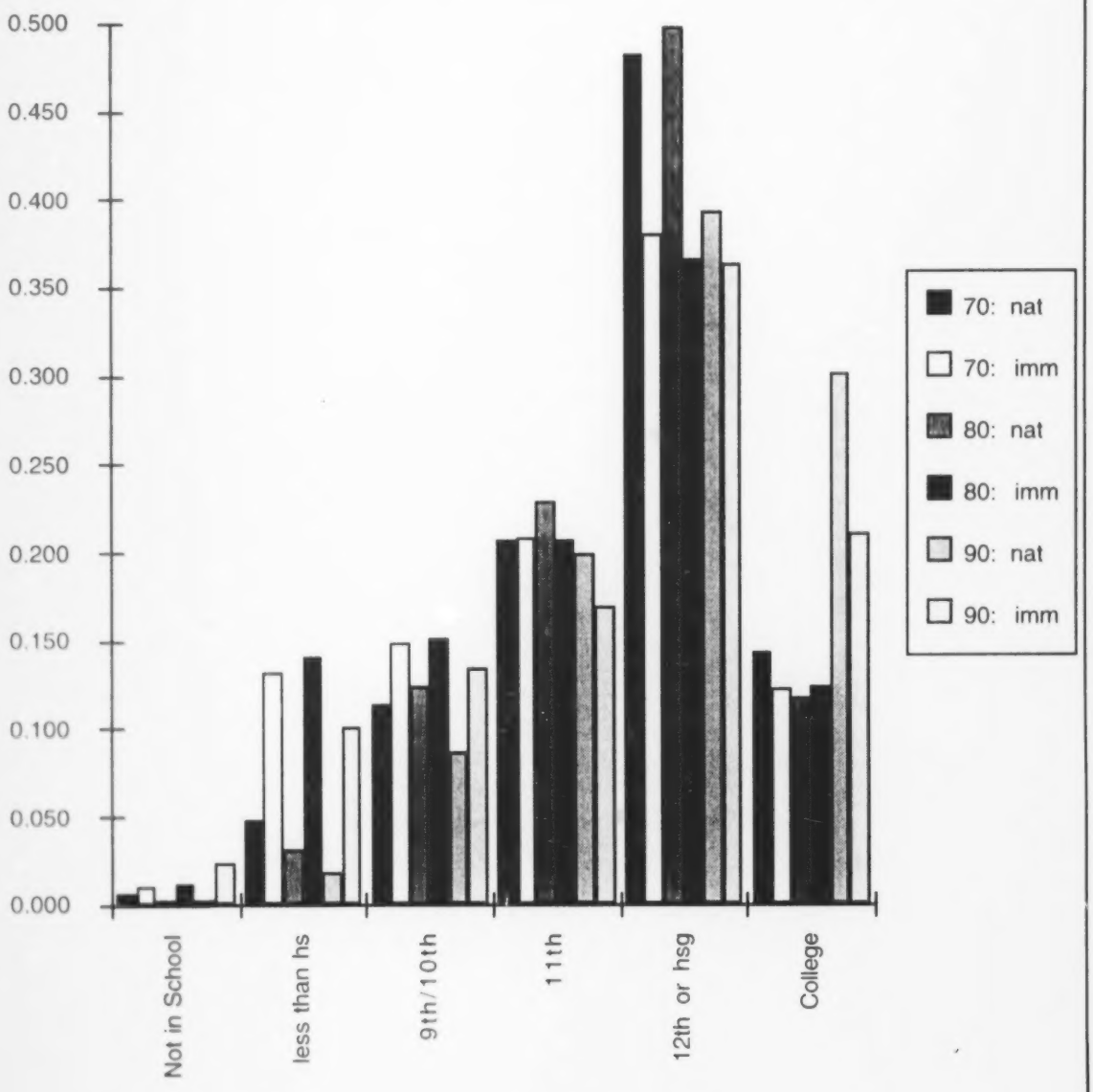
	High School Drop Out	With Only High School Degree	1-3 Years of College or an Associate Degree	4 Years of College or a Bachelor of Arts Degree
1960	2.36 %	1.96 %	6.2 %	4.0 %
1980	9.53 %	5.6 %	11.8 %	12.5 %
1990	20.07 %	10.78 %	18.7 %	19.1 %

Source: 1960 1 %, 1980 and 1990 5 % State file of the PUMS Census data.

[2]High school drop outs are defined as those not enrolled in high school with completed level of education as ninth, tenth, or eleventh grade. Those with only a high school degree are not enrolled in school but have a high school diploma or GED.

Further analyzing educational attainment for only 18 and 19 year old native-born and immigrant youth points out a severe grade lag for immigrant youth (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Educational Attainment of 18 & 19 Year Old Natives and Immigrants



Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census data.

In all educational attainment categories below 11th and 12th grade -- the modal grade for 18 and 19 year olds -- there are a lot more immigrants than natives. This indicates that there is a grade lag for immigrants. The grade-lag for some 18 and 19 year old immigrants are large: 18 or 19 year old immigrants enrolled in the 6th, 7th or 8th grade. Recent immigrants, in particular, lag much farther behind their modal grade than immigrants who have resided in the United States longer than five years.

Figure 8 also indicates that compared to 1970 and 1980, more 18 and 19 year old youth, immigrants and natives, are in college in 1990 as well as that over the last thirty years more and more immigrants are not in school at age 18 and 19.

Furthermore, immigrant youth constitute a growing proportion of the nation's youth and are heavily concentrated in a few areas of the country. In California, the number of students enrolled in secondary schools who are immigrants has increased over the last thirty years (Table 4). In 1960, 3.05 percent of students enrolled in California high schools were immigrants, whereas in 1990, 23.54 percent of those in California high schools were immigrants. Moreover, the percent of immigrants enrolled in 6th through Freshman year in high school in California has increased dramatically over the last thirty years, indicating that the share of students who are immigrants in California is not going to decrease in the near future, but rather increase. Thirty-seven percent of those in 6th through Freshman year in 1990 were immigrants.

Table 4: Percent of Students who are Immigrants in California

	In 6 th Grade through Freshman	In High School	High School Drop Out	With Only High School Degree
1960	7.39 %	3.05 %	4.48 %	4.27 %
1980	17.34 %	10.46 %	18.56 %	10.5 %
1990	36.74 %	23.54 %	39.44 %	22.28 %

Source: 1960 1 % file, 1980 and 1990 5 percent State file PUMS Census data.

This large portion of immigrants enrolled in California secondary schools translates into a large increase in high school seniors and high school drop outs who are immigrants. Because the Census data is cross-sectional, it is not possible to determine if the high school seniors go onto school or not or whether those with a high school degree received the degree from an American high school. However, in 1960, 4.2 percent of high school seniors and high school drops were immigrants and by 1990, 33.1 percent were immigrants. Particularly worrisome is the large increase in high school drop outs in California who are immigrants. In 1990, 39.4 percent of high school drop outs were immigrants. As seen in the national data, high school drop outs in California are the fastest growing group of immigrants followed by high school graduates without any post secondary education.

In sum, immigrants are an increasing and permanent percentage of youth enrolled in schools. In particular, immigrants are a large percentage of high school drop outs and non-college bound. Immigrants, particularly recent immigrants, suffer from severe grade delay and are heavily concentrated in a few areas of the country, which exacerbates the problem of high school completion by immigrants in these areas. Thus, immigrants are a large percentage of the youth population who are in the workforce and who are at-risk when leaving high school and entering into the workforce.

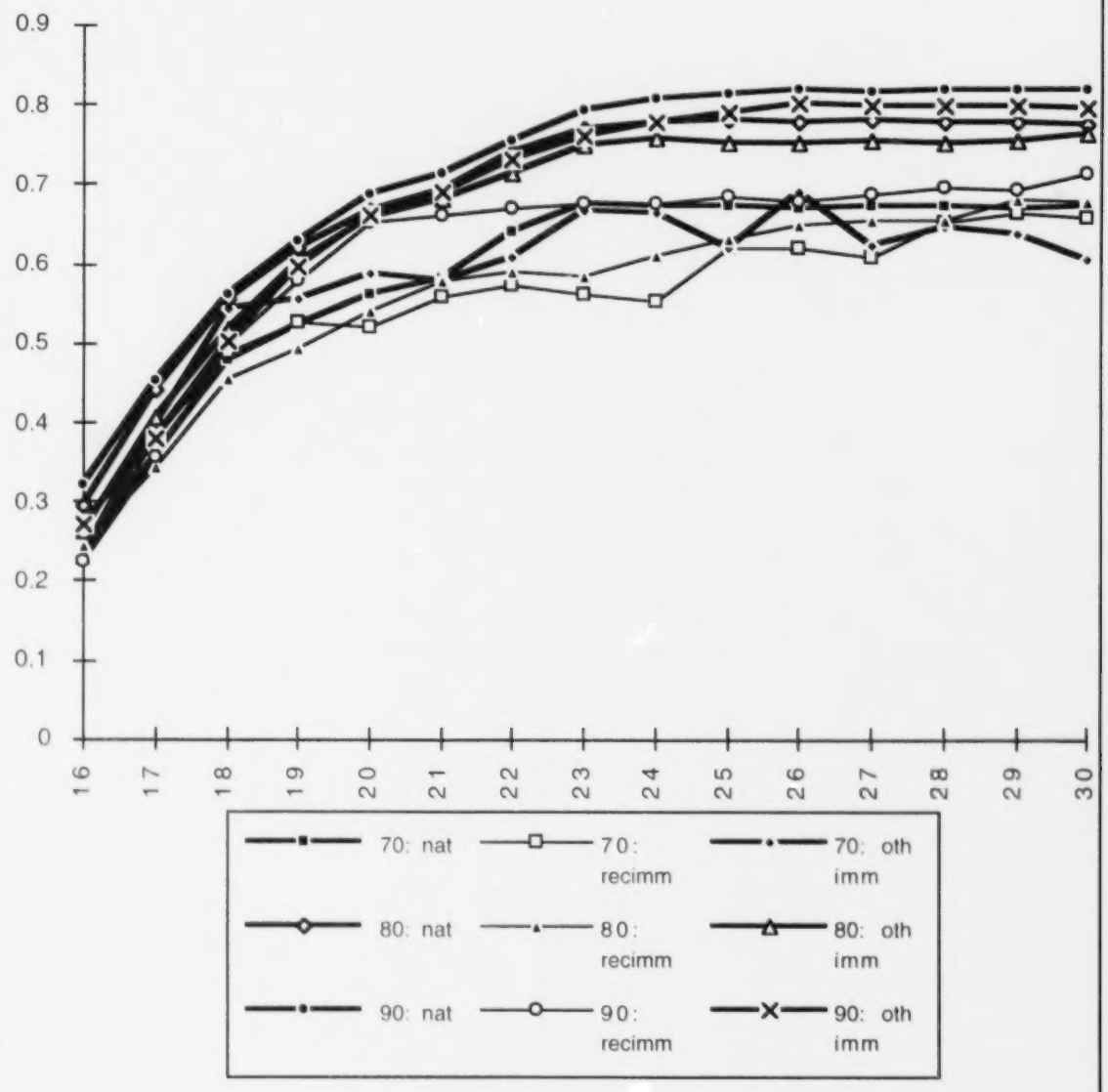
EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

Labor Force Participation

Youth rotate more frequently in and out of the labor force than adults due to school enrollment, military service, and youth's low reliance on self-sufficiency for their individual income and housing due to parental assistance and living accommodations. This is indicated in Figure 9: labor force participation rates of immigrants and natives increase logarithmically. The logarithmic shape of the labor force participation rate curve

for youth indicates that participation in the labor market increases as youth age implying that as youth grow older their dependencies on parental assistance and school decreases.

Figure: 9 Percent of Natives and Immigrants (Recent and Other) in the Labor Force



Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census data.

In Figure 9, the labor force participation rates of natives in 1970, 1980, and 1990 as well as the labor force participation rate for immigrants who have been in the United States longer than five years in 1980 and 1990 level off at age 23, whereas the labor force participation rates of recent immigrants in 1990 level off at age 19. In 1970 and 1980 there is no discernible age at which labor force participation of recent immigrants stabilizes. Native and other immigrant youth tend to 'mature' in terms of labor market participation at the age of 23, while recent immigrants 'mature' at 19 years old. Natives also participate approximately 15 percent more often than immigrants.

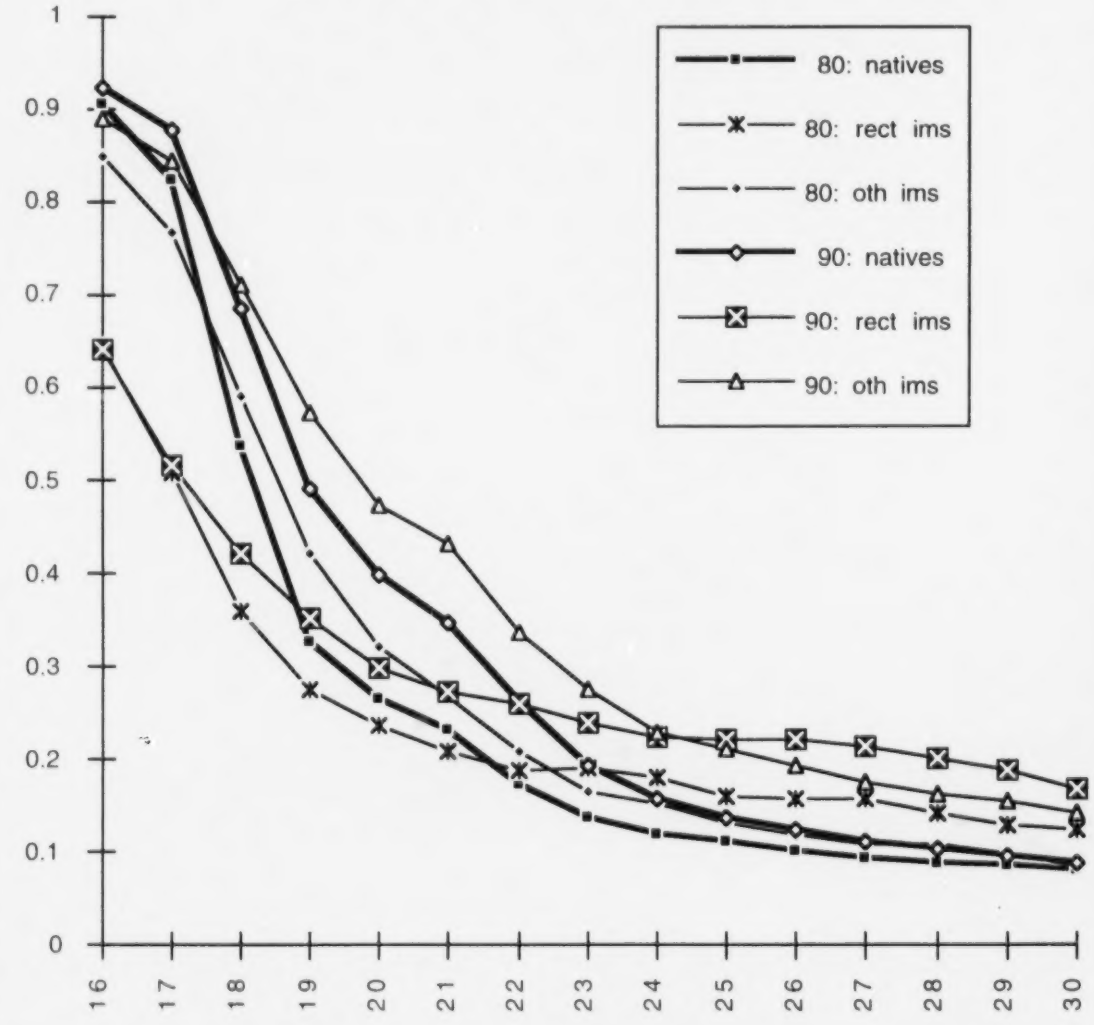
The levels of participation have changed over time. In 1970, 65 percent of 23 year old natives participated in the labor force, while 76 percent participated in 1980 and 78 percent in 1990. Compared to 1970, the labor force participation rates after the age of 20 in 1980 and in 1990 for natives and immigrants who have resided in the United States longer than 5 years increased by ca. 10 percent. Thus, over time labor force participation, particularly after the age of 20, has increased. The labor force participation rates, however, for recent immigrants have also increased over time, albeit at much lower levels than for natives and other immigrants. They were ca. 55 percent in 1970 and 68 percent in 1990. This could indicate either a higher dependency of recent immigrant youth on parental and family support or that more recent immigrants (after the age of 23) are out of the labor force as discouraged workers, in school, or in the black labor market.

Simultaneous Labor Force Participation and School Enrollment

Analyzing the percentages of natives and immigrants in the labor force who are enrolled in school indicates that large numbers of 16-19 year old native and immigrant youth, who have been in the United States longer than five years, are both in the labor force and enrolled in school (Figure 10). Being in the labor force at these younger ages consists primarily of part-time or summer employment rather than unemployment or full-time employment. For recent immigrants, however, this is not the case.

Figure 10

1980-1990 Percent Enrolled of Natives and Immigrants Who are in the Labor Force by Age



Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census data.

The percentage of recent immigrants in the labor force who are also enrolled in school is roughly 30 percent lower than for other immigrants and natives at every age between 16 and 21. This indicates that a larger percentages of young (16-21 year old) recent immigrants who are in the labor force are only working.

In short, there are fewer 16-21 year old recent immigrants in the labor force than natives or other immigrants and those that are in the labor force have a higher rate of just working and not being enrolled in school at the same time. This points to a probable higher rate of full time work or unemployment among recent immigrants age 16-21 in the labor force.

On the other hand, the percent of recent immigrants between the ages of 21 and 30 in the labor force who are also enrolled in school remains steady at 20 percent in 1980 and 22 percent in 1990. This suggests that overall a small but growing number of recent immigrants aged 21-30 are both working and enrolled in some sort of school (i.e. GED, language school, vocational education, community colleges, etc.).

Employment Rates

Measuring youth employment is complicated because youth frequently 1) 'not in the labor force' since they are in school, in the military, or being supported by their parents or are 2) simultaneously enrolled in school and working. To analyze youth employment and include both the cases of only working and simultaneously working and going to school, employment rates of youth will be compared.

As seen in Table 5, youth aged 15-19 years old of all three groups -- natives, recent immigrants and immigrants who have resided in the Unites States longer than five years -- have decreasing employment rates from 1970-1990: natives, -3 percentage points, other immigrants -8, and recent immigrants -13. Natives have a stable employment rate which increases with age. Other immigrants also have a stable employment rate that increases with age; however, those between 15-19 years of age have a slightly higher employment rate. The employment rates for recent immigrants aged 20-24 and 25-30, on the other hand, have deceased slightly faster over time in relation to the natives and other immigrants: -5 percentage points for 20-24 year olds and -4 for 25-30 year olds, whereas recent immigrants aged 15-19 have had the largest change in

employment rates: 91 percent in 1970 and 78 percent in 1990. Recent immigrants have a more volatile employment rate over time as well as a less steady employment rate increase with age. As a result by 1990 there is a consistent 5 percent difference between the employment rate of recent immigrants and natives in all three age groups. In sum, natives and other immigrants after the age of 20 have similar employment patterns while recent immigrants of all ages are having a harder time finding employment in 1990 compared to 1970 and 1980.

Table 5: Percent of Employed Natives, Recent Immigrants and Other Immigrants

	Natives	Recent Immigrants	Other Immigrants
	(as percent of Labor Force)		
	15-19 year olds		
1970	0.86	0.91	0.88
1980	0.86	0.84	0.88
1990	0.83	0.78	0.80
	20-24 year olds		
1970	0.91	0.92	0.91
1980	0.91	0.88	0.92
1990	0.92	0.87	0.90
	25-30 year olds		
1970	0.94	0.93	0.93
1980	0.93	0.91	0.92
1990	0.94	0.89	0.92

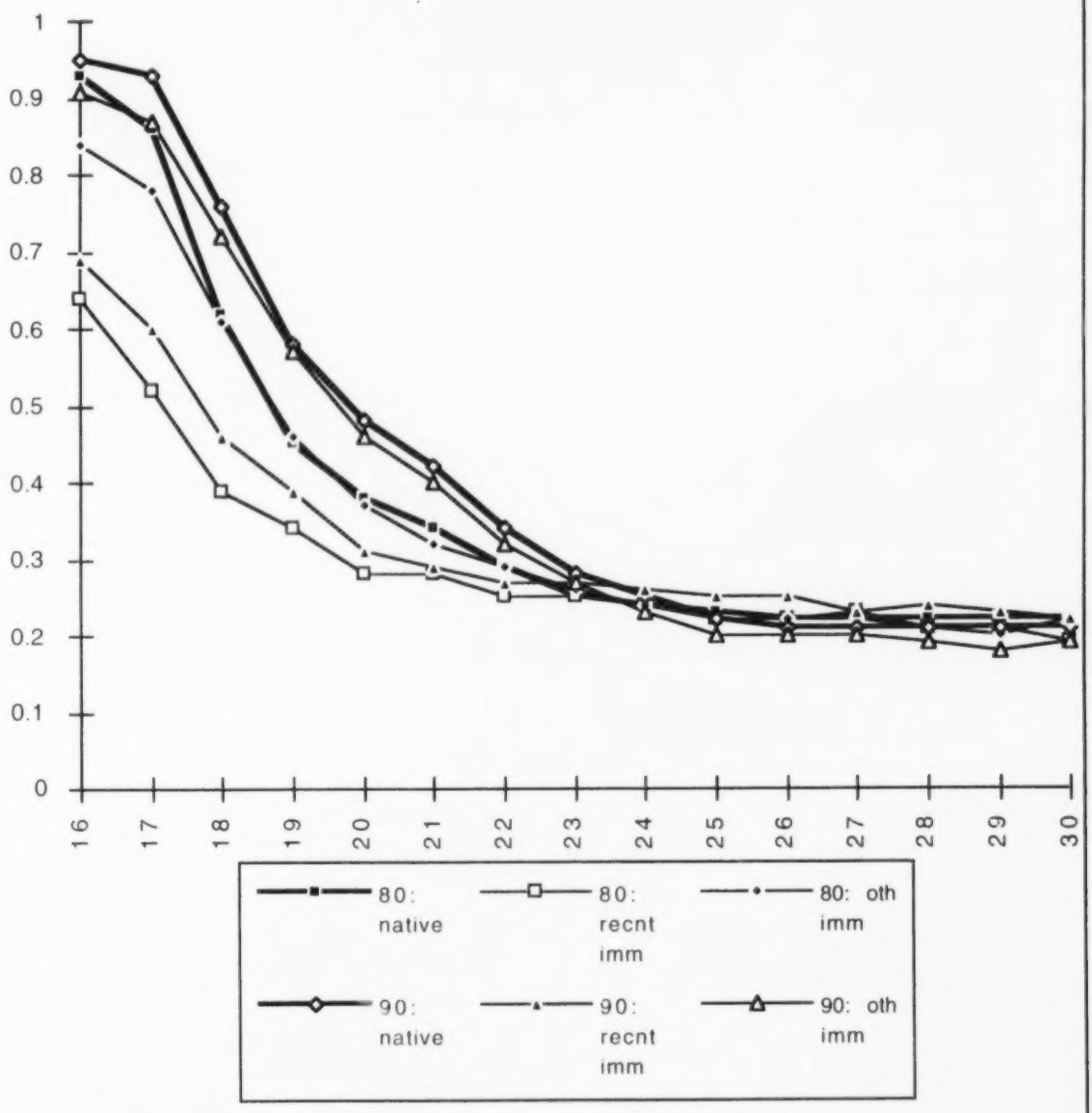
Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census

Part-Time vs. Full-Time Work

The previous sections have shed light on immigrant and native youth labor participation rates intertwined with enrollment patterns and overall employment rates. Yet another dimension of the youth school-to-work experience is employment in terms of hours worked per week. Part time work is very prevalent among youth. It enables them to work and go to school simultaneously. Part time employment also provides youth with the ability to earn 'spending money' since they are less dependent on earning their own living. Part time work is defined as working less than 39 hours a week.

In 1980 and 1990, 16 to 30 year old natives and immigrants who have lived in the United States longer than five years have similar part-time work patterns (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Percent of Natives & Immigrants (Recent and Other) Working Part Time



Source: 1970, 1980, and 1990 5% State file of the PUMS Census data.

Before the age of 23, part time work for natives and immigrants who have resided in the United States longer than five years slowly declines from roughly 90 percent at age 16 to 30 percent at age 22. This pattern indicates that while native and other immigrants are in school they hold part time jobs and gradually switch over to full time employment as they leave school and permanently enter the labor force.

Recent immigrants have a much lower rate of part-time employment and subsequently a higher rate of full-time employment before the age of 23. This concurs with earlier observations that recent immigrants between 16 and 21 years of age are less often in school as well as simultaneously in the labor force and enrolled in school. After the age of 23 recent immigrants have the same part-time/full-time employment patterns as natives and other immigrants: roughly 22 percent of youth in the labor force are employed part-time while 78 percent are employed full-time.

Furthermore, in 1990 part-time employment rates for all three groups (natives, recent immigrants, and other immigrants) are higher than in 1980. For natives and other immigrants this coincides with a longer period of time in school in 1990 relative to 1980. For recent immigrants, however, this can not correspond to a higher rate of school attendance because in 1980 and 1990 recent immigrants maintained an identical pattern of school enrollment.

CONCLUSION

Over the last thirty years the demographic picture of youth in the United States has changed as a result of the 'immigrant boom'. The percentage of youth who are immigrants has increased[3] and the bulk of these immigrants have been in the United States from one to five years, are aged 20 to 24, and are male.

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[3]First, the age composition of immigrants has shifted so that youth, aged 15-24, are an increasing percentage of immigrants. Second, there has been an increase in the percentage of immigrants in the youth population and a decrease in the native youth population as baby boomers grew older.

The educational make-up of the youth population has also changed as immigration has increased over the last thirty year. First, the number of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools over the last thirty years has increased: in 1960, 1.5 percent of those enrolled in high school were immigrants, but by 1990, 11.5 percent of those enrolled in high school were immigrants. Second, the share of school leavers who are immigrants will decrease in the near future but remain a large share of the youth population. Third, natives with immigrant parents, who may have many similarities to immigrants, such as language difficulties, are also a sizable percentage of the student population.[4] Fourth, this large portion of immigrants enrolled in secondary schools, caused by the immigrant boom, translates into an increase in non-college bound immigrants: both high school drop outs and high school graduates with no post-secondary education. In 1960, 2.1 percent of non-college bound students were immigrants; but by 1990, 16.7 percent were non-college bound immigrants. Non-college bound immigrants are the largest growing educational group relative to natives across all the levels of educational attainment. Fifth, immigrants, particularly recent immigrants, suffer from severe grade delay and are heavily concentrated in a few areas of the country. The concentration of immigrants exacerbates problems such as language difficulties, grade delay, and high school completion for immigrants in these areas. For example, California has twice the number of immigrants attending American high schools and subsequently entering the workforce than the nation as a whole.

Comparing immigrant and native youth in the workforce shows that 1) labor force participation, particularly after the age of 20, increased for all three groups -- native-born youth, recent immigrant youth, and other immigrant youth -- between 1970 and 1990, albeit natives participate approximately 15 percent more often than immigrants and that 2) native and other immigrant youth tend to 'mature' in terms of labor market participation at the age of 23, while recent immigrants 'mature' at 19 years old.

[4] 13 percent of high school seniors and 14 percent of high school sophomores in 1990 were first generation natives with at least one immigrant parent.

Analyzing the percentages of natives and immigrants in the labor force who are also enrolled in school indicates that 1) the bulk of 16-19 year old natives and immigrant youth, who have been in the United States longer than five years, are both in the labor force and enrolled in school and 2) the bulk of 16-21 year old recent immigrants who are in the labor force are only working and not in school. Being in the labor force at these younger ages consists primarily of part-time or summer employment for native youth or immigrant youth who have been in the United States longer than five years, whereas recent immigrant youth are most often working full-time even at these young ages. Recent immigrants between the ages of 21 and 30, on the other hand, who are in the labor force and who are enrolled in school was 20 percent in 1980 and 22 percent in 1990, which suggests that overall a small but growing number of recent immigrants aged 21-30 are both working and enrolled in some sort of school (i.e. GED, language school, vocational education, community colleges, etc.).

Recent immigrants differ considerably from other immigrants and natives. First, there are fewer 16-21 year old recent immigrants in the labor force than natives or other immigrants and those that are in the labor force have a higher rate of just working and not being enrolled in school at the same time. Second, recent immigrants are concentrated within the ages of 20 and 24. Third, they are the most disadvantaged in terms of finishing school at the modal age, participating in the labor force, and being enrolled in school between the age of 16 and 21. Immigrants who have been in the United States longer than five years, on the other hand, are much more similar to natives. Immigrants who have lived in the United States longer than five years are similar to natives in terms of employment rates, labor force participation rates, being simultaneously enrolled in school and part-time work. This similarity, however, is dependent upon the fact that in 1970 and 1980 immigrants who lived in the United States longer than five years actually resided in the United States most of their lives. In 1990 this trend decreased and most immigrants who had lived in the United States longer than five years in 1990 had spent closer to half

of their lives in the United States. This change subsequently reduces the similarity between natives and immigrants who have resided in the United States longer than five years in 1990.

Together these demographic, schooling, and employment trends imply that the proportion of immigrants and native-born with immigrant parents attending American high schools or participating in the workforce (either part-time or full-time) has risen during the last thirty years and will continue to increase in the future. Even if the government halted all immigration, the difficulties experienced by immigrant students and native students with immigrant parents, in terms of educational achievement, language proficiency, and the transition from school into the workforce, would remain since current immigrant youth will grow older, become parents and have children. Immigrants, therefore, are an increasing and permanent percentage of youth enrolled in schools and/or working, as well as a large percentage of high school drop outs and non-college bound. In general, immigrants are an increasing number of the youth population who are at-risk when leaving high school and entering into the workforce: those without a high school degree and those with only a high school degree.

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Public Use Samples of the Census: 1970 5% file, 1980 5% State file, 1990 5% State.

Appendix A

Variables from the Decennial Census 1970-1990

Variable	1970-1990
Demographics	
age	X
sex	X
nativity	X
country of birth	X
year of immigration	X
citizenship	1980-90
Labor Force - reference week	
labor force status	X
hours worked	X
industry	X
occupation	X
Labor force - last year	
labor force status	X
weeks worked	X
annual earnings	X
Education	
educational attainment	X
school enrollment	X
English proficiency	X
language use at home	X

Source: Public Use Samples of the United States Decennial Census data. 1970, 1980 and 1990 5% State File